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ABSTRACT

This study suggests that jural parenthood, i.e. socially recognized parenthood, is the basis of the creation of personal kinship networks, commonly referred to as personal kindreds. From 1968 to 1970, field work was conducted among second generation welfare families in an urban black community in a midwestern city in the United States. The majority of the adult men and women involved in the study had been raised as children at a poverty level, as are their children. Domestic arrangements and strategies among the black poor there assure that children are cared for, and kin and friends in need will be helped. New alliances are formed daily between kin and friends who exchange and give and obligate one another. Cooperation among people is not limited to households or nuclear families. Men, women and children, kin, and friends participate in domestic networks, aligning themselves to provide the basic functions often attributed to nuclear family units. Participants in domestic networks are primarily drawn from personal kinship networks. From the individual's viewpoint, he is immersed in a domestic circle of a large number of kinfolk he can call upon for help. Friends pass in and out of his domestic network, just as he passes in and out of the domestic networks of his friends. (Author/JM)

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BLACK KINDREDS: PARENTHOOD AND PERSONAL KINSHIP NETWORKS AMONG BLACKS "ON AID."

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Individuals distinguish kin from non-kin throughout the world. Moreover, kin terms are frequently extended to non-kin, and social relations between non-kin may be conducted within the idiom of kinship. Individuals acquire socially recognized kinship relations with others through a chain of socially recognized parent-child connections (Goodenough 1970). The chain of parent-child connections is essential to the structuring of social groups.

Until recently most ethnographic data has not clarified those social transactions involving parental rights although anthropologists have long recognized the distinction between natural and social parenthood (Malinowski 1930; Radcliffe-Brown 1950; Goodenough 1970; Carroll 1970). This omission has lead to the persistence of the belief that each person is a kinsmen of his natural mother and father who are expected as parents to raise him (Scheffler 1970). Much of the controversy and misleading characterizations of kinship and domestic life among Black Americans living in poverty can be attributed to this assumption and to the lack of ethnographic data on transactions in parenthood.

In the following study I suggest that jural, ie. socially recognized parenthood is the basis of the creation of personal kinship networks, commonly referred to as personal kindreds (Davenport 1959, 1964; Mitchell 1963; Kessing 1966; Fox 1967). Individuals "cast their net" to create personal kinship networks on the basis of culturally determined perceptions of jural parenthood.

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Young black children are born into a network of kin which is primarily the personal kinship network of adults, their mother, their father, or in any case the kin folk responsible for them. Sometimes a natural parent does not actuate claims of responsibility towards a child. Of the two closest relatives a father is more likely to drop out of a child's personal kinship network than a mother. This is due to the widely known fact that the black males' persistent lack of jobs, skills and opportunity has made it practically impossible for him to fill the American stereotyped dream of jural fatherhood. The high frequency with which black fathers break kinship links has led to the classification of black families as matrifocal, implying a matrilineal structure for linking families in the same community (Stack 1970). But the dichotomy between nuclear, biparental families on the one hand, and matrifocal families is not adequate to describe domestic organization or the creation of personal kinship networks among second generation welfare families in urban communities.

From 1968-1970 I conducted field work among second generation welfare families in Jackson Harbor[1], an urban black community in a midwestern city in the United States. The majority of the adult men and women involved in the study had been raised as children at a poverty level on welfare. Their children are also being raised on AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children)[2]. Domestic arrangements and strategies among the black poor in Jackson Harbor assure that children are cared for, and that kin and friends in need will be helped. Peoples' needs are uncountable: responding to them puts such great demands on personal relations that people need to continually expand the number of people they can count on.

New alliances are formed daily between kin and friends who exchange and give and obligate one another. They trade food stamps, rent money, a TV, hats, dice, a car, a nickel here, a cigarette there, food, milk, grits, and children. Thus networks of domestic cooperation come into being. The social and economic lives of men, women and children can become so interwoven that not repaying might mean someone else's child will not eat.

Cooperation among people, some of whom live together, some of whom do not, is not limited to households or nuclear families. Men, women and children, kin and friends, participate in domestic networks, aligning themselves to provide the basic functions often attributed to nuclear family units. Participants in domestic networks are primarily drawn from personal kinship networks. Kin become actively involved in domestic networks when they are poor and need a steady source of cooperative support to survive. Domestic networks have stability in that the needs of the poor are constant. Friendships, on the other hand, are continually changing and friends drop in and out of one another's networks while frequently assuming a stable position in their own kinship network. From the individual's viewpoint, he is immersed in a domestic circle of a large number of kin folk he can call upon for help. Friends pass in and out of his domestic network, just as he passes in and out of the domestic networks of his friends.

PERSONAL KINSHIP NETWORKS

American children are born into a network of relatives which in principle is unlimited. Relatives on both sides of the family are kin and there is no

clear-cut limit to the range of one's kinsmen.[3] But cognatic reckoning by itself cannot distinguish between effective kin and others within the system.[4] The choice of which relatives an individual chooses to trace and activate relationships to is by no means mechanical. Networks which urban black children are born into include some individuals who are "kin folk" and others who are not effective kin. Billy, a young black woman was raised by her mother and her mother's "old man". She has three children of her own by different fathers. Speaking about her kin Billy says, "Most people kin to me are in this neighborhood, right here in Jackson Harbor, but I got people in the South, in Chicago and in Ohio too. I couldn't tell most of their names and most of them aren't really kin folk to me. Starting down the street from here, take my father, he ain't my daddy, he's no father to me.[5] I ain't got but one daddy and that's Otis, the one who raised me. My kids's daddys, that's something else, all their daddys' people really take to them--they always doing things and making a fuss about them. We help each other out and that's what kin folks are all about."

How individuals "cast their net" to create personal kinship networks, depends upon the culturally determined perceptions of jural parenthood, the rules and criteria for including and excluding persons connected by blood and marriage to a particular kinsman, and the inter-personal relations between these individuals. These criteria determine which individuals acquire socially recognized kinship relations with others.

Personal kinship networks of adults are apparently ego-centered networks of <u>effective</u> kin. These networks are not residential units or observable

groups, and they change participants, for example, when kin folk "fall out" with one another. From the individual's viewpoint personal kinship networks comprise the people who are socially recognized as having reciprocal responsibilities to and claims on him. These people become acting and reacting participants for some focal purpose (Fox: 1967:167).

Young children exercise little choice in determining with whom they have kinship relations. They are born into a network of effective kin which is primarily the personal kinship network of adults, their parents, their mother, or in any case the kin folk responsible for them. As children become adults they expand, contract and create their own personal networks.

For many reasons such as geographical distance, inter-personal relations, or acknowledgment of paternity, some relatives do not actuate claims of responsibility towards an individual. These relatives effectively drop out of the individual's personal kinship network. When a person drops out of someone's network all of the people linked through him also tend to drop out. An important criterion, then, affecting the size and shape of the personal kinship network of adults is whether the relative who drops out of the network is genealogically close or distant. Sometimes close kinship links like that of a parent are broken. A father, for example, may claim that he doesn't "own the baby" thereby refusing to acknowledge paternity. When a close link such as that of a father is broken, this has a profound effect on the shape of the personal kinship network. The following chart shows the genealogical categories in American kinship (consider the "child" as EGO). If a child's grandparents through his father, for example, break a link, all those more

distant relatives related through the grandparents tend to drop out. On chart A, a circle is drawn around those individuals related through the grandparents who effectively have dropped out of the child's personal kinship network. Chart B shows the shape of a network in which a father has broken a kinship link. Of the two closest relatives the father is more likely to drop out of a network than a mother.

Personal kinship networks can take any number of shapes, because any relative can break a link. But the networks are skewed roughly in proportion to the nearness of the kinship links which are ineffective. In principle, the dropping of a father from a network effects the shape of the network in the same way as if other more distant relatives on either side were to drop out. But the effect of dropping a close relative is obviously much more profound. In the following discussion I will elucidate the creation of and recruitment to personal kinship networks.

THE PERCEPTION OF PARENTHOOD

The perception of parenthood among people in Jackson Harbor provides a good starting point for understanding who is eligible to be a member of the personal kinship network of a new-born child. Jural, ie. socially recognized parenthood provides some of the clues because a child's personal kinship network is initially determined by socially recognized parent-child connections (Goodenough:1970:21), the relationship the mother has with the father, and the continued relationship the mother has with the father's family.

At birth, a culturally meaningful event, a child acquires socially recognized kinship relations with others. Goodenough suggests that everything

follows from what societies "make of" the birth of a child (1970:23). We will now look at the perception of jural motherhood in Jackson Harbor and how a mother's sponsorship provides a child with kinfolk.

Motherhood

Men and women in Jackson Harbor regard childbearing and child-begetting as a natural and highly desirable phenomena. Lottie James was fifteen when she became pregnant. The baby's father, Herman, the socially recognized genitor, was a neighbor and the father of two other children. Lottie talked with her mother during her second month of pregnancy: "Herman went and told my mama I was pregnant. She was in the kitchen cooking. I told him not to tell nobody, I wanted to keep it a secret, but he told me times will tell. My mama said to me, 'I had you and you should have your child. I didn't get rid out you. I loved you and I took care of you until you got to the age to have this one. Have your baby no matter what, there's nothing wrong with having a baby. Be proud of it like I was proud of you.' My mama didn't tear me down, she was about the best mother a person ever had."

In some societies some women are ineligible to bear children, but there are few if any restrictions regarding which black women are eligible to bear children. Unmarried black women, young and old, are eligible to bear children, and frequently women bearing their first children are quite young. Over on fifth (23%) of the mothers studied, receiveing AFDC for their children in 1967, were in their teens at the birth of their first child.

Being eligible to bear a child at a young age does not necessarily mean that a young mother is considered emotionally ready to nurture a child. Consider

the following example in which a grandmother and other close relatives of Clover, a young mother, decided that she was not carrying out her parental duties. Clover was nineteen when her first child, Christine, was born. "I really was wild in those days, out on the town all hours of the night, and every night and weekend I layed my girl on my mother. I wasn't living home at the time, but mama kept Christine most of the time. One day mama up and said I was making a fool of her and she was going to take my child and raise her right. She said I was immature and that I had no business being a mother the way I was acting. All my mama's people agreed and there was nothing I could so. So mama took my child. Christine is six years old now. About a year ago I got married to Gus and we wanted to take Christine back. My baby, Earl, was living with us anyway. Mama blew up and told everyone how I was doing her. I dragged my name in the mud and people talked so much it really hurt." Clover, in the view of the community was not performing her duties as a mother. Gossip and pressure from close kin and friends made it possible for the grandmother to exercise her grandparental right to take the child into her home and keep her there.

A girl who gives birth as a teenager frequently does not raise and nurture her first born child. While she may share the same room and household with her baby, her mother, mother's sister, or her older sister will care for the child and become the child's "mama". This same young woman may actively become a jural mother to a second child she gives birth to a year or two later. When, for example, a grandmother, Aunt or Great Aunt "takes a child" from his natural mother, this succession to parenthood often lasts throughout the child's life.

time. Although a child kept by a close female relative knows who his mother is, that is, who gave birth to him, his "mama", the one he loves and depends upon, is the woman who "raised him up". Young mothers and their first born daughters are often raised as sisters, and strong sibling-like ties are established between these mothers and their daughters which continue over their lifetimes. A child being raised by his grandmother may later become playmates with his half siblings who are his age, his natural mother's other children. But he does not share with his half siblings the same claims and duties and affective ties towards his natural mother.

There is nothing in the conception of parenthood among people in Jackson Harbor which prevents kinsmen of a child's socially recognized genealogical parents from having claims to jural parenthood (Goodenough: 1971:17). The community has long recognized the problems and difficulties which young mothers, and all mothers, in poverty, share. Shared parental duties have long been the response. Despite the difficulties of raising children in poverty, the bond between mothers and children is exceedingly strong and the majority of mothers in Jackson Harbor raise their own children. Of the 188 ADC mothers studies 80% were raising their own children, 5% were raising younger siblings, and 7% were raising their grandchildren, nieces or nephews.

A young mother, who, in the eyes of the community, does not perform her duties as a mother, in a sense, has not validated her claim to jural parenthood. Other close female kinsmen of the child (and sometimes non kin) may assume those rights. In effect a young mother transfers some of her claims to jural parenthood without surrendering all of her rights to the child.

The person who actively becomes the affective and jural mother, the "mama", acquires the major cluster of parental rights accorded to the mothers in Jackson Harbor.

Goodenough (1970:25) has defined jural motherhood as the "rights and duties a woman has claim to in relation to a child by virtue of her having borne it, provided she is eligible to bear it, and provided no other disqualifying circumstances attend its birth." This definition of jural motherhood is adequate for understanding jural motherhood in Jackson Harbor if we broaden "disqualifying circumstances at birth" to include disqualifying circumstances after birth such as non-validation of parental entitlement by a woman who is considered old enough to bear a child legitimately, but proves too young to assume adequate resonsibility towards the child.

The network that a child is born into is primarily the network of the kin folk responsible for the child. Members of the Jackson Harbor community accept the woman who nurtures and provides for a child, the "mama", as the jural mother. Just how a jural mother provides a child with concerned relatives can best be viewed in terms of Fischer's (1956) notion of sponsorship.[6] Fischer, in his discussion of residence, calls attention to the question of who is an individual's immediate sponsor in a residence group. This terminology refers to the residence of individuals rather than couples, and can flexibly provide information on residence over an individual's life history. The terminology can also be applied to the creation of personal kinship networks for the new-born child. Determining who becomes one of the immediate sponsors of a child's network clarifies its initial formation, the kinship links that are effective, and the shape of the network.

In Jackson Harbor the jural mother (80% are the natural mothers) determines the child's kinship affiliations through females. She is one of the immediate sponsors of a child's personal kinship network. A black child's jural mother's blood relatives and their husbands and wives are eligible to be members of the child's personal kinship network. How the relationships between a child's natural mother and his genitor or socially recognized genitor effects a child's kin affiliations through males is described below. When a child is raised by close female relatives of his mother, in a more or less stable situation, the immediate sponsor of the child's personal network is the jural parent, the "mama". This reckoning of relatives through the immediate sponsor is especially useful when a child's residence changes during his life time. Even if a child is raised by a person who is not a blood relative (described below), he usually becomes a part of the network of the jural mother. To summarize, a jural mother in the community of Jackson Harbor is culturally defined as the woman who nurtures the child. The woman who bears a child is not necessarily the one who cares for the child and assumes the rights and responsibilities of a jural mother.

Fatherhood

People in Jackson Harbor expect to change friends frequently through a series of encounters. Demands on friendships are great, but social-economic pressures on male-female relationships are even greater. Relationships, therefore, between young, unmarried, child-bearing adults are highly unstable. The community usually does not evaluate male-female relationships in terms of duration. Some men and child-bearing women in Jackson Harbor establish long

term liasions with one another, some maintain sexual unions with more than one person at a time and still others get married. Although marriages occur among young women, few women are married before they have given birth to one or more children. When a man and woman have a sexual partnership, especially if the woman has no other on-going sexual relationships, the man is identified with children born to the woman. This identity is based on the assumption that the man is the genitor (Goodenough:1971:6). Short term sexual partnerships are recognized by the community even if a man and woman do not share a household and domestic responsibilities. The offspring of these unions are publicly accepted by the community. One might go so far as to say that a child's existence legitimizes the child in the eyes of the community. No definiton of marriage is required by the community for accepting children born to women and their sexual partners. People in Jackson Harbor do not automatically label as a marriage sexual partnerships which produce a child.

But the fact of birth does not provide a child with a chain of socially recognized relatives through his genitor. Even though the community accepts the child, the culturally significant issue in terms of the economics of every day life is whether any man involved in a sexual relationship with a woman provides a new born child with kinship affiliations. A child is eligible to participate in the personal kinship network of his father if the father becomes an immediate sponsor of a child's kinship network.

When an unmarried woman in Jackson Harbor becomes pregnant or gives birth to a child she often tells her friends and kin who the father is. The man has a number of alternatives open to him. Sometimes he publicly denies paternity by implying to his friends and kin that the father could be any number of other

men, and that he has "information that she is no good and has been creeping on him all along." The community generally accepts the man's denial of paternity since it is doubtful that under these conditions this man and his kin would assume any parental duties anyway. The man's failure to assent to being the father leaves the child without jural kinship ties reckoned through a male. Subsequent "boy friends" of the mother may assume the jural duties of discipline and support and receive the child's affection, but all jural rights in the child belong to the mother and her kinsmen. This pattern, whereby black children derive all their jural kin through females, has been stereotyped and exaggerated in the literature on black families. In fact, fathers in Jackson Harbor recognized 484 (69%) of the 700 children included in the AFDC survey.

The second alternative open to a man involved in a sexual relationship with a mother is to acknowledge openly that he is the genitor. The father can acknowledge the child by saying "he own it", by telling his people and his friends that he is the father by paying part of the hospital bill, or by bringing milk and diapers to the mother after the birth of the child. The parents may not have ever shared a household and the affective and sexual relationship between them may have ended prior to the birth of the child. By validating his claim as a jural parent the father offers the child his blood relatives and their husbands and wives as the child's kin--an inheritance so to speak. So long as the father validates his parental entitlement, his relatives, especially his mother and sisters, consider themselves kin to the child and jurally responsible. Even when the mother "takes up with another man" her child retains the original set of kin gained through the father who sponsored him.

The more a father and his kin help a mother and her child, the more completely they validate their parental rights (Goodenough:1971:17). But the usual situation in Jackson Harbor occurs when a man assents to being the father, and offers his kinship affiliations to the child, but rarely performs a parental duty or claims any rights in relation to the child. Out of 699 fathers who acknowledged paternity of AFDC children only 84 (12%) gave any financial support or assistance to their children. This fact is not surprising considering that many American black males have little or no access to steady and productive employment and are rarely able to support and maintain their families. This has made it practically impossible for most poor black males to assume stable roles as jural parents. People in Jackson Harbor believe a father should help his child, but they know that mothers cannot count on his help. Community expectations of fathers do not generally include the father's duties in relation to a child. They do, however, assume the responsibilities of the father's kin. The black male who does not actively become a jural father, but acknowledges a child and offers his kin to that child, in effect, is validating his jural rights. Often it is the father's kin who activate the claim, through the father, to jural rights in the child.

Jural fatherhood, then, belongs to the presumed genitor if he, or others for him, choose to validate his claim. Jural kinship through males is reckoned through a chain of socially recognized genitors. If the father fails to do anything beyond merely acknowledging the child, he surrenders most jural rights in the child, and this claim can be shared or transferred to the father's kin, whose claim becomes strengthened if they actively participate as effective kin.

By failing to perform parental duties the father retains practically no rights in his child although his kin retain rights if they assume active responsibility.

A non-participating father also shares some of his jural duties with his child's mother's current boyfriend or husband. In this sense Goodenough's observation that "jural fatherhood whether it belongs to the genitor or the mother's husband derives from the marital relationship" is useful (1970:28). When a man and woman have a continuing sexual relationship, even if the man is not the father of any or all of the woman's children, he is expected by the mother and the community to share some of the parental duties of discipline, support and affection. Goodenough's definition of marriage as a transaction whereby persons establish a "continuing claim to the right of sexual access" is appropriate to these relationships (1970:12) even though they might not be strictly those of marriage. The definition allows for the possibility that the "married" persons do not necessarily form a domestic or household unit, and that the relationship not be of any specified duration. Kinship through males in Jackson Harbor is reckoned through a chain of acknowledged genitors, but jural fatherhood is shared by the genitor with his kin, and with the mother's husband or with her sexual partners.

As jural relatives, a child's father's kin take an active interest in the nurturing of children. A mother's close female relatives have the right to observe and judge whether a woman is performing her duties as a mother. The father's close female relatives share this same right. If a young woman is unable to care for her child there is nothing which prevents a father's close female relatives from claiming jural parenthood. When 188 ADC mothers listed

in rank order who they would expect to raise each of their children (total of 1,000 children) if they died, one-third of the women listed their own mother as their first choice and one-third listed either their child's father or the father's mother as the first choice. The remaining one-third (second through fifth choice) were close kin to the mother (her mother's sister, her own sister or brother, and her daughter). In crisis situations such as a mother's death or sickness, a child's jural kin through his mother and father are equally eligible to assume responsibilities of jural parenthood.

The personal kinship networks which children have are based upon the chain of sponsored parent-child connections. Participants in active units of domestic cooperation are drawn from personal kinship networks. How a particular individual, say a mother, "casts her net" to create the active networks which she depends upon for the needs of her children, depends largely on sponsorship or parental links. Commonly, the mother's personal domestic network includes the personal networks of her children, who are half siblings with different fathers. Each child will grow up into a slightly different personal network from his brothers and sisters.

When economic resources are greatly limited, people need help from as many others as possible. This requires <u>expanding</u> their kin networks--increasing the number of people they hope to be able to count on. Mothers expect little from fathers, they just hope they will help out. But they do expect something of his kin, especially his mother and sisters. Mothers continually activate these kin lines bringing kin into the network of exchanging and obligating. Most often the biological father's female relatives are also poor and also try

to expand and increase the number of people they can depend on.

Children have different fathers so mothers frequently are dealing with slightly different personal networks for each child. The exchanges and daily dependencies get very complicated, but they constitute the main activity of daily life for these women.

Daily life is also complicated as individuals expand their own personal networks in part by recruiting friends into their own domestic networks. When friends live up to one another's expectations they are identified as kin. The following section shows that friends often participate in the personal networks of others within the idiom of kinship, and that some kin exhibit the interactive patterns of friends.

THE IDIOM OF KINSHIP

Men and women in Jackson Harbor know that their daily needs are unlimited and they constantly reach out hoping to find solutions which will change their lives. They place their hopes in the scene of their life and action, in the closed community, in the people around them, kin and friends, and in the many new friends they will have to make to get along. Friendships between lovers and between friends are based upon a precarious balance between trust and profit. Magnolia describes this balance in the following passage: "I don't have nothing great and no more than nobody else. It doesn't matter. I'm happy with my kids and I'm happy with the friends that I got. Some people don't understand friendship. Friendship means a lot, that is if you can trust a friend. They say you shouldn't trust nobody, but that's wrong. If you have

a friend you should learn to trust them and share everything that you have. When I have a friend and I need something, I don't ask, they just automatically tell me that they going to give it to me. I don't have to ask. And that's the way friends should be, for how long it lasts. But everytime you help a person they end up making a fool out of you. If a friend ain't giving me anything in return for what I'm giving her, shit she can't get nothing else. These days you ain't got nothing to be really giving. You can't care for no one that don't give a damn for you."

Even in newly formed friendships individuals begin to rely upon one another quickly, expecting wider solutions to their problems than any one person in the same situation could possibly offer. As a result the stability of a friendship often depends upon the ability of two individuals to gauge their exploitation of one another. Everyone understands that friendships are explosive and abruptly come to an end when a friend makes a fool out of another. Life therefore, as Abrahams so clearly shows, is "conceived of in terms of a series of encounters with a large number of individuals" (1970:120). People actively form new alliances expanding their network of friends to deal with their daily needs. As Ruby says, "You got to go out and meet people, because the very day you go out that first person you meet may be the person that can help you get the things you want."

Individuals in Jackson Harbor, most of whom spend their day visiting and talking, continually evaluate their inter-personal relationships by gossiping and conversation. They talk about whether others are "acting right" or "doing right by them". They define personal relationships in terms of their dual

expectations of friends and kin. When friends more than adequately share the exchange of goods and services they are called kinsmen. When friends live up to one another's expectations, their social relations are conducted within the idiom of kinship (Goodenough:1970:49). For example, if two women of the same age are helping one another they call their friend "just a sister," or say that "they are going for sisters". Any one in the community with whom a person has good social dealings can be classified as "some kind of kin" (Goodenough:1970:49). When a friendship ends because individuals "let one another down" this concludes both their expectations of one another and their fictive kin relationship. In addition, a person defined as a fictive kin, for example, a "sister," does not usually bring to the relationship her own personal genealogical entailments. Her mother is not necessarily her fictive sister's mother and her father's father is not her fictive sister's grandfather. Losing a fictive relative, therefore, does not dramatically effect the shape of personal networks as does the dropping of a close kinship link. Usually individuals related to fictive kin are not, in the first place, drawn into the network.

The open-ended extension of kin terms to "those who help out" is a way people expand their personal networks. A friend who is classified as a kinsman is simultaneously given respect and responsibility. For an example of how social relations are conducted within the idiom of kinship, let us turn once again to fatherhood.

When a mother has a boyfriend the community expects that he will assume some parental duties towards her children. This is especially true if the couple are "housekeeping," sharing their domestic tasks. A non-participating

biological father surrenders many of his rights and responsibilities to the mother's husband or current boyfriend. The attitude and behavior of the boyfriend towards the children defines his relationship to them. Clover compares her last two boyfriends and how they dealt with her children. "I stopped going with Max because he took no time for my kids, he just wanted them out of our way. I took it for a while cause I got things from him, but when he hit my boy I called it quits. If he can't care, he can't bully my kids. But Lee, he was something else. He was so nice to my kids that the babies cried when he left the house. Sometimes I had to yell to keep the kids from bothering him and get some time for myself. After we was housekeeping for about six months, Lee said to the boys that they should call him their "play daddy." Lee and I quit last year and I'm sorry we did cause the kids really miss him. But he still comes over, especially when I'm out, and they still call him their "play daddy."

Fictive kin relations are maintained by consensus between individuals, and in some contexts can last a life time. If Lee maintains his interest in Clover's boys he may remain a "play daddy" of theirs throughout the adult life of the children.

Children very often establish close and affectionate ties with their aunts and uncles, for example, with their mother's sister's "old man" and their mother's brother's "old lady". These aunts and uncles, on the basis of their original consensual relationship, can remain in a child's (fictive niece or nephew) personal network for a long time. Personal kinship networks are enlarged by the inclusion of these affines who can keep the relationship active for a long time. Ruby recently visited her Uncle Arthur, one of her Aunt Rosie's

"old men," in the hospital. "Uncle Arthur and I was always good friends," says Ruby, "even when he and Aunt Rosie weren't getting on. He was staying with Rosie, my grandmother and me whem I was just a kid and he always treated me like something real special. Now he is just as nice to my kids when he comes over to see them. I really feel sad that he's old and sick, he has high blood, and I think he may die." Ruby is also attached to her Uncle Lazar who started going with her mother's youngest sister when her Aunt was just fifteen. "My Aunt has been married twice since, but Uncle Lazar just remained a part of our family. He's fifty eight now and he's been a part of our family ever since I can remember. He always has been staying with our family too. Right now he's staying in the basement below Aunt Rosie's apartment and she cooks for him and her old man. He'll always be my Uncle and he and my Aunt never did get married."

Just as aunts and uncles whose relationship derives from consensual unions can stay a part of the personal kinship networks of their niece and nephews, best friends can remain in each other's personal network on the basis of the original friendship, even if the friendship has ended. Sometimes when non kin become a part of a family and are given a fictive kin term such as aunt or cousin, no one remembers just how the tie began. Billy tried to remember how cousin Ola, as her family called her, became a part of her family. "My mama once told me," said Billy, "but I hardly remember. I think cousin Ola was my mama's oldest sister's best friend and they went for cousins. When my mama's sister died Ola took her two youngest children and she has been raising them up ever since."

In the above examples social relations are conducted within the idiom of kinship. Members of the community explain the behavior of those around them by allowing behavior to define the nature of the relationship. Friends and non kin are classified as kinsmen when thay assume jural responsibilities of kinsmen. Likewise those kin who cannot be counted upon are said to exhibit the interactive patterns of friends. This kind of evaluation of the behavior of others allows for the constant ups and downs in the lives of friends and kin. Expectations are so elastic that when one person fails to meet another's needs disappointment is cushioned. Flexible expectations and the extension of kin relationships to non kin allow for the creation of mutual aid domestic networks which are not bounded by genealogical distance nor genealogical criteria. Much more important for the creation and recruitment to personal networks are practical requirements that kin and friends live near one another and are congenial.

Members of domestic networks in Jackson Harbor are drawn from kin and friends. Of the two, the kin network is more enduring because all of an individual's effective kin are "recognized as having some duties towards him and some claims on him" (Fox:1967:167). Friendships end and that is to be expected. New friendships can be formed. But the number of relatives who can be called upon for help from personal kinship networks is limited. As a result a cluster of relatives from personal kinship networks have continuing claims on one another. Some observers of black culture regard the friendship network as the "proven and adaptive base of operations" in lower class life (Abrahams:1970:128). But the resilience of the poorest black people can be attributed to the coalescence of personal kinship networks and networks of friends.

NOTES

1. Place names and personal names throughout the paper are pseudonyms.

2. AFDC data reported in this study is part of a statistical analysis from AFDC case histories which I conducted of the residence patterns and kin relationships of 1000 children and 200 grantees on the AFDC program in the County my study is located. The data was coded and analyzed before I began my field work.

3. On this point in particular, and many others throughout this paper I wish to thank F. K. Lehman for his insight, scrutiny, and continued interest in my work.

4. The following distinction between relatives, kin and effective kin will be used throughout the study:
   a. Relatives: In cognatic reckoning the universe of cognates is in principle unlimited in the number of genealogical categories (not persons) it contains. A relative is any person who is genealogically defined within the cognatic web, for example, a mother's brother.
   b. Kin: Some relatives (at least) and some others who constitute (members of) the culturally specific system of kinship categories which have some behavioral entailments (rights and duties) with respect to one another.
   c. Effective kin: At least some of the above kin and others who activate and validate their jural rights in one another by helping one another, thereby creating reciprocal obligations towards one another.

5. Schneider (1968) maintains that distinctions between terms of reference (father) and terms of address (pa, pop, daddy) increase ethnographic error because they are synonyms which are equally referential, and are equally names of categories. Schneider's observation clearly is not adequate for dealing with the terminology from the above passage. The kinship term father in the passage refers to the socially recognized genitor. "Daddy," which informants themselves put in quotations by intonation, refers to an effective kin such as the man who raises a child. Black people in Jackson Harbor, then, distinguish between the 'pater' (effective kin), the jural father (socially recognized genitor), and the 'genitor.' Their perception of fatherhood, therefore, does not fit into the long accepted dichotomy between 'pater' and 'genitor' (Radcliffe-Brown:1950).

6. I am grateful to Jan Brakman for suggesting this idea.

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